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REGIONAL AND OTHER NONSTANDARD DIALECTS OF MAJOR LANGUAGES

Barbara F. Grimes

Languages with large numbers of speakers are often used as a medium of intercommunication among speakers of other nearby languages. They are communication, and the dingua francas or languages of wider communication. They may or may not have official status of some kind in the countries in which they are spoken. These languages often have regional variants, or other variants used by different economic classes, castes, religions, social, or politically distinct groups. The variants may be intelligible to each other, or they may differ to the extent of being unintelligible to each other, and therefore constitute distinct but related languages.²

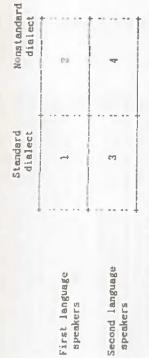
One form of the language (that is, one dialect) is often considered to be the standard form appropriate for literary purposes, for education, or sometimes for official or religious use. There has been a tendency to think only in terms of the standard form of these dominant languages. The other variants are commonly thought of as dialects, even though some may be distinct enough from the standard form or from each other to be separate languages.

These major languages usually have first language speakers as well as second language speakers, although some lingua francas do not have native speakers, but only second language users. First language speakers of a regional or other variant of the language, however, sometimes have difficulty understanding or using the standard dialect of the language, depending on the degree to which the nonstandard variant differs from the standard dialect, and on how well they have learned the standard dialect.

Second language users of a regional or other nonstandard variety of the language may be expected to have even more difficulty with the standard dialect of the language than first language speakers who use that same nonstandard variety, unless the bilingual proficiency of the second language user is equal to that of the native speaker.

in the standard form of the language, often even in a special literary dialect of the standard language that may be a 'high' form even more difficult for speakers of nonstandard varieties of the language to use. Along with this there is often resistance to any attempt to produce such literature in one of the nonstandard varieties of the language.

The result of all of this is for speakers of the standard Workely and other cutsiders to gloss over differences between the monstandard and standard dinlects, will the further result of cutting off speakers of the nonstandard distacts from such participation in the modiety or from adequate access to written meterials. Or, if the differences are noticed, apeakers of nonstandard dialects may be treated as inferior in some way. They are assumed to know or expected to learn the standard form even though they may not have adequate means of doing so.



First language

Bpeakers

apeakers

different speaker groups of using standard dialect, typeical case: 1 (least difficult) to 4 (most difficult). for Relative difficulty

standard versus the nonstandard dialects, and the relationship to those of first versus second language speakers. It also shows the comparative difficulty with which speakers from the four groups can be expected to use the standard dialect in a Figure 1 shows the four speaker groups that may be relevant in any major language situation with respect to speakers of the typical case.

Note that the degree of difficulty depends on

The level of proficiency of the second language The degree of difference between the dialects speaker 3:

nonstandard dialect versus a proficient second language speaker the former could have greater In the case of a first language speaker of a highly divergent difficulty using the standard dialect than the latter, of the standard dialect,

SPECIFIC CASES

the In order to understand the extent of these problems, thirteen specific cases will be described briefly, although there are from all over many more examples that could be cited world, 5

REGIONAL AND OTHER MONSTANDAMP DIALECTS

Meday

Many varieties of Malay arm spoken in different regions of Malayata, Indonesta, and southern Thuiland. Some of these differ considerably from Standard Malay, called 'Bahasa Malaysia' 'Bahasa Malayu', which is the national language of Malaysie, and is centered in West Malaysia. Differences with Standard Malay may be as great as 80% lexical similarity, which is considered by some linguists to be borderline between language and dislect, and is in the range of marginal intelligibility.

It is one of the dialects of Malay commonly referred to am There are syntactic, lexical, and pronunciation differences with Standard Malay. There may be a few native speakers of Sabah Malay, but most speakers use people in Sabah have with Standard Malay is in school or in some mass media communications; therefore many people are not familiar with vocabulary or other features of Standard Maley not used in school but used in other situations. There are varying levels of proficiency in it from person to person, linguistically mixed marriages. Educated speakers report that users of Sabah Malay who have not been to school have very Sabah Malay is closer linguistically to Standard Indonesian Sabah Malay is the lingua franca used in Sabah, East Malaysia. Almost the only contact that and on the level of schooling completed. Sabah Malay is used instead than it is to Standard Malay. Some churches use the Indonesian of Standard Malay for intercommunication between speakers of They also report that within Malaysia Bazaer Malay', 'Malayu Pasar', 'Melayu Pasir', 'Market Malay', different languages and especially in urban centers or depending on whether or not they have been to school, Bible, but there are political pressures against using written materials in Indonesian. little understanding of Standard Malay. , or 'Low Malay'. it as their second language. Trade Malay',

some reports, thus obscuring the lack of intelligibility in which each is used, the resulting vecabulary and other Both Sabah Malay and Standard Malay are commonly referred to between them, the different classes of mituations, or domains? limitations of the users, and the different degrees of biin each form of Malay among individual simply as 'Malay', without distinction in conversation and speakers within the language community. lingual proficiency

spoken by people of Chinese descent and centered near the Malacca Straits, East Malaysia; Gocos Island Malay spoken in spoken in northeastern Borneo; and Trengganu Malay spoken in the northeastern Malayan peninsula. Many or all of these are There are other Malay dialects spoken in Malaysia, such as Lahad Datu and Tawau in southeastern Sabah; Brumei-Kedayan distinct enough from Standard Malay that they may be only Sarawak Malay spoken in Sarawak, north Borneo; Baba Malay^a marginally intelligible with it.

below Songkhie, Yale to Surattheni, and also in West Melaysia. Pattani Malay is spoken on the east coust of south Thailand

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Standard Melay, but similar to the variety of Malay spoken in Relanton and Trenggano States is Malaysia. The New Testament is in print and Old Testament translation is in progress in Pottani Melay.9

Indoncaian

Indonesian is a variety of Malay reported to be based on Risu Malay in Sumatra, one of several indigenous Malay dialects spoken in Sumatra. It has about 80% lexical similarity with Standard Malay of Malaysia, I and is the national language of Indonesia. Standard Indonesian is defined by the National Language Center in Jakarta. The sociolinguistic situation of Standard Indonesian within Indonesia is similar to that of Standard Malay within Malaysia.

Churches in the area tend to use an older, stilted translation of Scripture in Indonesian, which is more difficult for made available to many people. modern language Indonesian translations, which would be closer understand for second language users of Ambonese Malay who do speakers of Indonesian. learned Indonesian and so do not understand it. The main contact with Indonesian is on the part of those who have been the best or only vehicle through which the Scriptures can be to the form of Indonesian known by local educated speakers. Those churches might resist even more having Scripture not know Indonesian. The churches tend to resist the use of speakers of Ambonese Malay to understand than it is for communication. government contacts. There are many second language users of Ambonese Malay, for whom it is their main language of wider and in southern Maluku. Some of these native speakers have not Ambonese Malay for several generations; possible 100,000 persons at the present time, primarily on the islands of Ambon, difficulty understanding the local variety, although they understand many words. There have been mative speakers of Speakers of Indonesian who arrive in Ambon have great have developed from Trade Malay and still reflects some archaic Maluku¹² in east central Indonesia, and has 81% lexical similarity with Standard Indonesian. ¹³ Ambonese Malay seems to Ambonese Melay, which is used in most of central and southern Perhaps the most divergent form of Malay spoken in Indonesia is translated into the local Ambonese Malay, although it may be to school, through the media (primarily radio), and in Heruku, Nuse Laut, Separua, along the coastal areas of Seram, morphology of the vernaculars spoken in Central Maluku.14 It further diverged by adapting to the syntax and Some of them also do not know Indonesian. It is even more difficult to

Iriancec Malay is another regional variety of Malay spoken in Irian Jaya, east Indonesia. It is apparently closer to Standard Indonesian than is Ambonese Malay. There may be a few mative speakers of Irianese Malay, mainly the children of parents who come from different language groups and are living in urban areas. It is the main language of wider communication in Irian Jaya, used for intercommunication among different

language kroups, and in some occupations such as among mine workers. Standard Indonesian is known in varying degrees only by those who have been to school. Some reports state that certain minority innguage groups are becoming more bilingual, without distinguishing whether it is in frieness Malay or in Indonesian, whether each is used in certain domains only, or indicating the spread of different levels of bilingual proficiency in each variety in different domains and among different individuals in the minority language community. This can lead to the possibly false assumption that bilingualism in Irianese Malay can enable a person to understand Indonesian and use Indonesian literature adequately, including the Scriptures.

There are other forms of Malay used in Indonesia, such as North Moluccan Malay, Makassarese Malay, Menadonese Malay, Jakarta Malay, and others, each with varying degrees of closeness to Indonesian, and with similar sociolinguistic situations to those already described.

Javanese

Javanese is spoken primarily on the Island of Java in south-western Indonesia, and also by recent settlers on many other islands of Indonesia by about 70,000,000 people. There are 'high' forms of Javanese which are used for formal occasions, in speeches, and for literature, including the Scriptures. Javanese has many levels of respect forms used by its speakers, depending on the relative age and social status of the person being addressed and of the speaker.

may be only marginally intelligible with Standard Javanese. speakers of Tengger can understand Standard Javanese adaa dialect of Javanese,18 thus giving the impression that all Standard Javanese used in literature and in special social or bilingualism. They are not conversant in the high forms of surrounding Javanese culture is through dialect intelligibility contrast to the Javanese, who are mainly Muslim. slopes of Mt. Bromo volcano all the way up to the crater.15 quately. contexts. They are, however, listed in some sources merely as is not yet clear whether their communication with the other Javanese. The Tengger are ethnically and linguistically distinct from it. Tengger is spoken in east Java by people who live on the divergent enough to possibly be inherently unintelligible with Javanese has various regional dialects, some of which are They practice Hinduism and Buddhism, in Their dislect

New Caledonian Javanese is spoken in New Caledonia in the South Pacific by about 6,000 migrant workers taken there from Java primarily between 1900 and 1938. Since World War II there has been continuing migration in both directions by individuals and families. They have come primarily from the farming class in Java which is not conversant in high or literary Javanese. Their distect has been significantly influenced by French. The result is a divergent dislect, many of whose speakers may not be able to use existing Javanese literature, including Scrip-

MAGIONAL AND OTHER MONNTANDARD BLALECTS

It is not known what the literncy rule is among New Caledonian Jaysnese, or whether they would be literate only in French or also in Javanese. To become functionally literate in The literacy rate among Melanesian New Caledonians is Jovanent would also require learning the literary dialect of Javanese

some, at least, may understand it in order to communicate with their elders. Their main language is French. New Caledonian it is not known what degrees of bilingual proficiency the New Caledonian Javanese have in the official French language. They Javanese is commonly referred to simply as 'Javanese', thus There are indications that young people of Javanese descent may not be learning to speak New Caledonian Javanese, although comprehensible to New Caledonian Javanese speakers, 18 These Possible conflicting reports need to be checked in all segments apparently have not learned other Innguages of New Caledonia. indicates that the revised Javanese Bible giving the impression that it is like Standard Javanese. of the society. report

It is apoken mainly in the northern part of the country in or near urban areas. It has been affected by borrowings from other Surinam languages. The speakers are descended from farmers brought over to work in the plantations in the 1860's South America, or about 15% of the population of the country. Most of them are not conversant in high or Some older speakers use the Javanese Scriptures with difficulty, but young people cannot understand them. Translation of Scripture is presently in progress in this form of Javanese. Surinam Javanese is often called merely Surinsm Javanese is spoken by about 60,000 people in Surinas, literary Javanese. and afterward. Javanese'.

Ilocand

There are about 5,000,000 native speakers, with many more second language users. It has no official status. There are regional dialects used by both first and second language llocano is the major lingua franca used in northern and central Luzon in the Philippines, in Mindoro, and in parts of Mindanso.

The Scriptures are in Standard Hocano, which is centered in Even the latest translations of Scripture tend to use some stilled terminology compared with ordinary speech, which makes the Scriptures difficult for first language speakers of some regional dialects to understand. There are reports that one or two other groups who are bilingual in Ilocano might be able to use Ilocano However, pressures from churches that only a more formal kind of language should be used for Scripture make it unlikely that Scriptures if there were the 'right kind' of translation. bilingual speakers will Rocos Province in northwestern Luzon. e translation adequate for undertaken in the near future.

Portuguese

There are about 10,000,000 speakers of Portuguese in Portugal and the Azores, who speak a collection of dialects quite different from dislects of Brazil, which have over 130,000,000 first language speakers

Galicians are a 'vigorously independent people'.21 There is a Galician, or Gallego, 1s spoken by over 3,000,000 people is Galicia Province in northwestern Spain and in the northern Galician is intermediate in a dialect chain between Portuguese provinces of Entre-Minhoe-Douro and Trazos-Montes in Portugal. and Spanish, but is often called a dialect of Portuguese, 19 It The only Scripture ever published was a portion in a limited edition published in 1837 as a larger literary exercise is distinct enough from either Portuguese or Spanish, however, Galician Acedemy and an Institute of the Galician Language, that it should probably be treated as separate, 24 sponsored by Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon.22

Brazilian Portuguese versions. However, there are native speakers of various regional dialects along the Amazon River in derstand, the modern language Brazilian Portuguese translation.23 It is even more difficult for second language Regional dialects of Brazilian Portuguese have varying degrees users of those regional dialects to understand Scriptures in 'popular' Brazil that have difficulty understanding, or cannot of difference from Standard Brazilian Portuguese. Scriptures have been translated into at least two even the modern versions.

Spanish

although educated Spanish speakers have little difficulty communicating with each other or using written materials in Spanish is spoken as a first language by over 210,000,000 people in Spain, the Americas, and elsewhere, and by many more second language users. There are many regional varieties, Standard Spanish, as defined by the internstional Academy of who speak a form of 'pessant' Spanish, have varying degrees of difficulty in understanding Standard Spanish and even the modern translations of Scripture into 'popular' Spanish. They especially second language speakers of some regional dialects, have even more diffuculty understanding the older translations Uneducated, semi-educated, commonly used in many churches. the Spanish Language.

Italian

dislects' of Italian, but increasingly reported to be unintelligible with Standard (talian. They are apparently called dialects of Italian because they are spoken in Italy, There are various forms of speech commonly referred to as

REGIONAL AND OTHER NONSTANDARD BLAIRCES

27

Sardinia. Corsican has been recognized as a separate language are related to Italian, and because most of them have by the French Government. Neapolitan-Calabrese is reported to be unintelligible with Piedmontese, Sicilian, and Venetian have been specifically es shown in Figure 2.24 Bergamesco, Ligurian, Lombard. Italian, but are probably separate languages, according to spoken in Corsica, France, are all commonly called dialects of the Ticino Canton of Switzerland, and Corsican (260,000 or more official status. Neveral of them are closer to French than to reported to be very linguistic structural differences and inherent intelligibility (1,900,000 spenkers), Lombard (8,600,000 speakers), Piedmontese Italian, especially in complicated or abstract Bergamesco (130,000 or more speakers), speakers), Ticamese (700,000 speakers), speakers) Sardinian (1,500,000 speakers), Venetian Sardinian is the second official language used for different from Standard Italian. 25 spoken in

done in some of these languages, and some Standard French in the case of Corsican, as well as which degrees of bilingual proficiency speakers in different segments presently being done. official purposes. distinguish them from Standard Italian, to find out whet If they are separate languages, then it is important to languages are used in different areas of is generally used for education, literature, and language community have in Standard Italian, Older translations of Scripture have been life. Standard translation

Italo-	Italo-Western	Southern
		**
Western	Italo-Romance	**
	* •	
Gallo-Romance	D.A.	
	0 x	
French	Italian	Sardinian
Ligurian	Neapolitan-Calabrese	
Lombard	Sicilian	
Piedmontese	Venetian	
Ticanese	Corsican	
Bergamaco		

Figure 2. 'Dialects' of Italian Compared with Italian and French

OCT DAMAGE

Greece and Alhaman (50,000 or more), and Megleno-Romanian of called Moldavian in the USSR, where a Standard Romanian is the official language of Romania. It is Istro-Romanian of dialect is spoken, and the cyrillic script is used. Yugoslavia (150,000), Macedo-Romanian of slightly different However,

MANAGEMENT OF THE PARTY OF THE

Standard Romanian or in their respective national languages; Romanian are commonly called Romanian dialects. Greece, and Albanian in Albania. which are Serbo-Croatian or Slovenian in Yugoslavia, Greek speakers have varying degrees of bilingual proficiency in Greece are quite distinct from Standard Romanian.27 All of these forms of

purposes in most German-speaking communities around the world, prominence after Martin Luther translated the Scriptures into Standard German is the High German dialect that rose to German, consisting of languages and dialects in the Upper Rhine of languages and dialects, some of which are unintelligible to each other. It has at least two branches; Upper or High others in Europe already described. German is really a family the second consonantal shift of the 8th and 9th centuries.28 dislects in the Lower Rhine Valley, which did not experience Valley, and Lower or Low German, consisting of languages and and for educational and official purposes in several countries. The situation with so-called German 'dialects' is similar to dialect. It is used for literary and religious

Standard German needs investigation. Gottschee in Yugoslavia.2 The degree of bilingual proficiency of speakers in their respective national languages or in Tredici Communi south of Trent in northern Italy, and part of Nuremburg and western Bohemia, Czechoslovakia; and South Bavarian in the Bavarian Alps, Tyrol, Styria, including the Heanzian dialect of Burgenland, Carinthia, the Sette and its own; Central Bayarian in the Alps, lower Austria, and Salzburg; North Bayarian in the north of Regensburg, to different from Standard German. It is in the Upper German group of languages and dialects, and has three subdislects of Bavarian is commonly called a German dialect, but is quite

and community. Standard German is one of the official languages in Switzerland, used for educational, literary, and of passive bilingualism. there are some who can understand it but not speak it; a kind nearly all Swiss citizens who speak Swiss German as first Scripture and by pastors for sermons and prayers. Apparently official purposes. German or with each other. Swiss German is used in the home and dislects, some of which are not intelligible with Standard Switzerland, and is actually a group of Upper German languages Swiss German (Schwytzertuetsch) has over 4,000,000 speakers in language are highly bilingual in Standard German, although It has been used traditionally for

German dialects communicate with each other, and their attitude German: 20 toward some appropriate and inappropriate uses of Standard William G. Moulton describes how speakers of diverse Swiss

different Swiss German dislects could achieve Theoretically, at least, speakers of the many

mutual intelligibility by using Standard German ("Mochdeutsch") when they talk tugether. As it turns out, however, the German Swiss find this solution totally unneceptable. It would be a gross breach of linguistic cliquette for one German Swiss to use Standard German in normal conversation with another German Swiss. This is simply not done. Instead of this, each speaker speaks his own dislect, and they achieve mutual intelligibility by learning how to correlate capecially the sound system of their own dislect with the often quite different sound systems of other dialects.

in the extreme south are the local dialects so different from those to the north that the however, southern speakers do not generally use Standard German in talking with speakers from farther north. Instead, they use a vague sort of west Swiss speech (more or less like the dialect of the city of Bern), and the northern speakers use none of them could actually speak either of the other two dialects, each of them could understand conversions. This is the typical solution for nearly all speakers of Swias German dialects. Only of. used Standard German, at least until I had learned a somewhat fractured type of Zurich German. In speaking with each other, however, they used only dislect, and each used his own dislect. Though they had learned how to make the necessary conversions are not easily made. Even here, worked in Zurich with the materials of the colleagues who also worked quite regularly in the one from the city of Glarus, and one from the city dialects. In speaking with me, a foreigner, they the other two dislects with no difficulty at all: Hotzenkocherle 1962ff.), there were three Swiss atles office. One came from the city of Zurich, Chur--three phonologically quite different I remember personally a vivid example of this. During the two years (1958-59, 1964-65) when I of German Switzerland their regular northern dialects. Linguistic Atlas

Although earlier translations of Scripture into several Swiss German dislects were generally ignored, several recent translations are being used and appreciated by more people, and even used in some church services. Swiss German is used increasingly for other parks of church services, by some pastors for sermions, and for less formal lectures.

Plautdietsch (possibly 300,000 speakers) is a Low German language³² distinct from most other Low German dislects, with the largest number of speakers in Canada (100,000 or more), many speakers in Latin America (107,000 or more) and the United States (10,000 or more), as well as some in the USSB and some in the original area in Friesland, West Germany. It is spoken mainly by Mennonites, or those from a Mennonite background.

They have varying degrees of hillingual profitziency—in Stendard German, whirly they have used for religious purposes, including fur Scriptura. Sume speakers, including many in Latin America, do not understand Standard German, English, or Spanish, but me monthingual in Flautdietsch. Plautdietsch is used informally not the home und community, but most speakers consider it to be not dignified enough for church or Scripture. Some speakers have the opportunity to be educated in Standard German, but many do not, and so their only exposure to it is in church. For them it is a religious language that does not communicate well. However, Plautdietsch is slowly gaining acceptance as a literary vehicle. A dictionary and some serious literature have been published. It is used in some radio broadcasts, in some churches, and the New Testament is now being translated should in it.

hundred thousand. It is based primarily on Rhenisch Palatinate proficiency in Standard German or English. Pennsylvania German and further Scripture translation is being undertaken for those States (possibly 200,000), and also around Kitchener and Waterloo, Ontario, Canada (10,000). There are thousands of first language speakers out of an ethnic population of several (Pfaizer) Low German, with some influences from Standard German The sociolinguistic situation is similar to Amish and Mennonite people, who have varying degrees of bilingual is commonly thought of as 'the language of the barnyard and the country store'.34 Some Scripture partions have been published, Pennsylvania German, componly called Pennsylvania Dutch or and is spoken primarily in Pennsylvania and Ohio in the United sometimes Pennsylvanisch, may have as many as 200,000 speakers, whose bilingual proficiency in other languages is inadequate. that of Plautdietsch, being spoken mainly by and English, 33

Tirolean German (Hutterite German, Tyrolese) has a similar sociolinguistic situation to the last two languages described. It is an Upper German language, spoken by about 30,000 people in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, Canada, and in the United States. 35 The Hutterites practice strict communal living in colonies. The Hutterites practice strict communal living in colonies, but are more bilingual in English than in Standard German. The degree of difference between Tirolean and Standard High German needs to be investigated, as well as the degree of bilingual proficiency of speakers in English.

Arabic

Arabic is a family of languages with a dialect chain stretching across thirty-one countries from Afghanistan in the east to Senegal in West Africa. Contiguous dialects have varying degrees of intelligibility with each other, but a major division extends from the Egypt-Libya border diagonally down to Lake Chad.³⁶ Modern colloquial Arabic has changed sufficiently from the Classical Arabic in which the Koran was written, so that the latter is not intelligible to nalive speakers unless they have been educated extensively in it. Standard Arabic is unwidern—form—based—on—Classical—Arabic,—and—learned—by—

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Chaptering months and approximation of the section of the section

educated apeakers. This veries less from country to country than regional forms of colloquiel Arabic, so that educated speakers from different countries can communicate with each other, although sometimes adjustments need to be much even manny them.

It is officially not purmitted for the Koran, the sacred writings of Islam, to be translated into another language because of the belief that a translation by nature introduces error. The purity and truth of the content is thought to be preserved by preserving the form of the language. Standard or Classical Arabie is the only form accepted for literary purposes by most people. Some translations of the Koran have been made which are considered interpretations or commentaries on the text rather than the Koran itself. Several sources state that any attempt to produce literature, including the Christian Scriptures, in a colloquial Arabic would be ridiculed and the content would not be believed. The acceptibility of having colloquial versions is a topic provoking heated debate.

However, there are an estimated 90,000,000 illiterate first language Arabic speakers who speak possibly ten or more separate colloquial Arabic languages, based on inherent intelligibility criteria. There are also many other divergent rural dialects. These people cannot automatically understand Standard or Classical Arabic. To become functionally literate they would have to learn not only to read, but learn to speak a separate language as well. The number of years of schooling required to reach a high enough level of bilingual proficiency in a separate language to be able to understand complex and abstract concepts by means of it is not available to most of these people. This leaves them cut off from purticipation in their national society and from adquate access to Scripture and to the Christian message.

The Bible has been translated into Classical Arabic and North African Colloquial Arabic. The New Testament in Modern Standard Arabic is available in two versions, and Old Testament translations are in progress. The New Testament has also been translated separately into the Arabic varieties of Egypt, Chad, Sudan, Algeria, and Morocco. Other colloquial varieties are distinct enough that their uneducated speakers are unable to understand these versions.

Chinese

Chinese is commonly thought of as one language with various dislects, but linguists distinguish eight separate languages based on lack of intelligibility, grammatical and lexical differences: Gam (24,000,000), Hiakka (43,000,000), Mandarin (713,000,000), South Min (Min Nan, Hokklen; 45,000,000), North Min (Min Pei; 12,000,000), Wu (84,000,000), Xing (50,000,000), and Yue (Cantonese; 54,000,000). Mandarin is the official language in China and in most Chinase speaking countries except Hongkong, where Yue is official.

In Chine, the official language is used for government, university, some elementary and secondary schools, and is taught as a second language in schools where it is not used for all purposes. Mandaran speaking areas comprise 70% of the population of the country. In those areas Mandaran is used for all purposes. There is an official policy of recognizing local languages in China, so the other (thinese languages are used for schools in some areas. Local television in Shanghai uses Mandaran for official government broadcasts and news, but uses the local Mu for programs dealing with social issues like family planning, community affairs, and 'soap operas', because Mu is the language of the home and community in that part of China.

The Chinese writing system has the advantage of identifying meaningful forms independently of their sound, and so the same literature can be used for all eight Chinese languages with little adaptation. The main problem comes for Chinese speaking people in other countries, some of whom may not have the opportunity to attend Chinese schools and to learn the Chinese characters; such as the Chinese in Thailand (5,600,000), those in Indonesia (over 2,000,000), and the Dungan of the USSR (52,000; 1979 census). The Dungan speak dialects close to Standard Mandarin, and the language has official literary status in the USSR, but uses the cyrillic script. The Dungan are Muslim and use the Arabic script for religious purposes. They are not familiar with the Chinese characters, and so do not have access to the vast Chinese literature or to the

Nepal

see its relevance to their everyday lives. The problem is more of Nepal; as their second language. scute for minority language speakers who use a nonstandard form many people from active use of Scripture or from being able to translations more acceptable for religious use. This cuts off accept them, considering the older, more literal and formal and so a large segment of the population has little or no knowledge of the formal variety. The Scriptures are available in modern language versions, but the churches generally do not literacy rate in Nepal is 23% (1985 United Mission to Nepal), standard variety unless they have learned it in school. The these nonstandard forms have difficulty using the formal, from some of the informal and regional dialects. educational, and official purposes, and differs considerably Doteli, Soradi, Bejhangi, Bejura, Achhami, Jumla, all in the regional variants which may be quite different are Baitadi, dislects, which are used in the capital and clacwhere. Some of western Nepal. variants, as well as a difference between formal and informal It is the national language of Nepal. Nepali is spoken by possibly 16,000,000 first language speakers in Nepal (9,600,000), India (6,000,000), and Bhutan (300,000). The formal dialect is used for literary, It has regional Speakers of

Creoles

Greoles are languages which hive usually developed from pidgin speech resulting from contact between speakers of separate languages and used as a lingual france between them. Linguists distinguish between pidgins, which do not have native speakers, and creoles which do, and which have developed more fully than pidgins to meet the varied needs of human beings for verbal expression in every area of life. Pidgins and creoles are often based on major languages of the world, but are commonly are considered to be 'butchered' forms of those languages. They are consequently held in low esteem by outsiders as well as by many native speakers.

language of the country in which the creole is spoken, then the however, the base language is not the national language, then Different creoles have varying degrees of closeness to their unintelligible with them. If the base language is the national creole apeakers will have varying degrees of bilingual the creole apeakers may have no opportunity to learn the base This latter is the situation with the Frenchbased Louisians Greole of the United States, and the Dominica language, and the problem is then each individual's degree of bilingual proficiency in whatever is the national language of his country, which is more distinct from the creole than is the Creole and St. Lucia Greole of the Caribbean, which are spoken in countries where English is the national language rather than Standard French; and with three or more English-based creoles spoken in countries where Spanish is the national language of Central America: Limon Creole of Costa Rica, Bluefields Creole of Nicaragus, and Panamanian Creole of Panama, which are rather than Standard English. These speakers usually do not have opportunity to learn to read or speak the base language of proficiency in the base language or national language. base language, but some are different enough base language. their creole. It should be noted that two creoles with the same base language, or a creole and its base language, may be thought to be intelligible with each other by a person who knows the base language. When they are not intelligible to speakers who have not learned either the base language or the other creole. Gary and Linda Simons²⁷ have called attention to this for New Guinea Pidgin and Solomon Islanda Pidgin, which are both Englishbased, are undergoing creolization, and are probably not each intelligible to monolingual speakers of the other, although they may seem to be quite similar to speakers of Standard English who compare them.

Jamaican Creole is fairly representative of Creole situations. It is spoken by about 70% of the population of Jamaica, ¹⁸ or about 1,700,000 people. There is a continuum in degree of difference from Standard British English to the extreme creole spoken more in remote areas, ³⁹ although native speakers may not perceive things in terms of a continuum. ⁴⁰ The extreme creole is not inherently intelligible with Standard English, ⁴⁾ The Creole is generally considered to be a form of 'broken'

Enrish, not neceptable for use in written form, oven though the population has varying degrees of bilingual proficiency in Standard-Engitsh, Name fairly few or with no proficiency in it. The Scriptures are available and in Standard English. However, the New Testament has recently been published in Krip of Sierra Leon in West Africa, which is speken largely by descendents of people repatriated from Januare in the last century. The degree of intelligibility of knowith Jamaican Creole has apparently not yet been evaluated.

There are creote languages spoken by millions of people in the Caribbean, in nearby areas in the southenstern United States, eastern Central America, northern South America, West Africa, Malacca in Malaysia, the Philippines, the Islands of the Indian Ocean, Papua New Guinea, Australia, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and elsewhere, with similar problems to those miready described. Several creote languages have been gaining prestige; exemples are New Guinea Pidgin, which has official status in Papua New Guinea, Kriol of Australia, Sramantongo of Surinam, and Papiamentu in the Netherlands Antilles.

SUMMARY OF THE PROBLEM

The problems described for these specific languages are also shared by all or most lingua francas, languages of wider communication, and national languages throughout the world. These problems accompanying language standardization are common throughout Europe aspecially. The common characteristics are pressures to accept only the standard dislect as liegitimate cases for or dominication, inferior, official use, religion, and in some cases for oral communication in higher social and educational circles; to consider those who cannot use the standard form as inferior; to overlook the limitations this places on large segments of society for communication, education, economic laprovement, and meaningful use of the Scriptures; and to assume that everyone can handle both the standard and nonstandard forms because educated speakers are able to do so.

TOWARD POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Linguistic Differences

For languages where it has not already been done, studies meed to be undertaken concerning the pronunciation, lexical, grammatical, and semantic differences between standard and nonstandard dialects, in order to better understand how different they are dialects or separate languages, and the nature of the problems for native speakers who do not know the standard dialect, as well as the even greater for speakers of other minority languages who only know a nonstandard form of the major language as their second language.

HEGIONAL AN THER NONSTANDAID DIALECTS

intelligibility.44 Reports should not refer to both generically by the same label, such as 'Malay', 'Nepali', 'Itslian', or whatever it may be. Similarly, general statements about 'bilingualism' without clarifying which form dialects, then testing needs to be done for inherent dialect bilingual proficiency are involved, cloud the issues or are dialects are used, classes of situations in which the nonstandard and standard of the nonstandard dialect toward the standard dialect, the of which language is being referred to, or what levels of separately. If the two varieties are separate languages, then degrees of dialect or second language comprehension by speakers It is important for surveys to take note of, test, and report even misleading. testing of bilingual proficiency needs to be carried out. 42 If two are close enough linguistically and language attitudes toward each to be possible

Preparation and Promotion of Materials

standard dialect adequately should not keep other speakers from nonstandard form will be needed. 45 Speakers who can use the effort, and so a program of promoting the acceptance of the speakers of each form of a language in which comprehension of the standard dislect is not adequate. As Language attitudes of both speakers and nonspeakers may be very much against this understanding of the problem. access to materials because of their projudices or lack of Ideally, literature including Scripture will be prepared for

nonstandard dialects than the formal standard versions are restricted nonstandard dislect. It is reported that a transunless such modern language versions are prepared for one very versions may be more understandable to speakers of several although they are also sometimes used by others besides the societies have labelled some modern language translations as 'popular versions', 'youth versions', or 'for new literates', compete with the Standard Indonesian versions. competitive with standard dialect materials. the audience who needs them in such a way as to not seem lation of Scripture portions into Irianese Malay has been labelled 'simple language',47 therefore not attempting to limited audience indicated by the label. Target audience. Materials can be labelled specifically for These more informal

written purposes, materials can be prepared on cassette or for considered to be acceptable for oral use although not for preserve them for future use. them with more care than a sound recording allows, and to radio presentation as a transitional oral phase. 40 Eventually Oral materials. they should be published for use by those who need to study Because the nonstandard dislects are often

the acceptance of materials will be, especially before a promotion effort has been carried on. However, speakers can be Private use. It is not possible to predict with certainty what

Same distance

of primary importance, 49 even if they are not used publicly. This is especially concounted to use materials in their own dialect privately, important in the case of Scripture use, where understanding is

CONCLUS IONS

educationally, economically, socially, politically, and ofter dislect and other varieties are usually minimized rather than studied, leaving users of nonstandard dislects handicapped dialect well, if at all. nous tendard nonstandard varieties as well as second language users of those dislects who have not had opportunity to learn the standard dislect well, if at all. This includes native speakers of The need for recognizing a standardized dialect of major languages has resulted in problems for users of nonstandard varieties. Differences between the standard

dislect adquately. Reports need to distinguish differences in usage in different domains, varying degrees of proficiency in each variety in the different domains, the relevant groups of society that have different proficiency. Materials should be restricted audiences, and prepared for private use or oral use nonstandard dialects, the materials can be labelled for as transitional stages toward more widespread acceptance. language attitudes may be hindrances to using materials in comprehension of the standard form is not adequate. prepared and promoted in nonstandard dialects where speaker taught, if second language speakers are to use the standard have in learning the standard dialect. Similarities will aid described. This will clarify the degree of difficulty and the kinds of difficulty speakers of the nonstandard dialect will close to the standard dialect needs to be studied The extent to which the nonstandard dialect is linguistically understanding, but differences will need to be specifically

different languages. A lingua franca is a language used primarily for commercial purposes. A language of wider communication may also be used for trade as well as for other purposes between speakers of

each other. subvarieties of a language whose speakers speak differently, who cannot understand other speech varieties unless they learn speech variety whose speakers can understand each other, but but whose speech is similar enough that they can understand the other variety. The term language is used in this paper to refer to The term dialect is used to refer to

primary means of communication, often also referred to as the language as their initial language and use it as their First language speakers refer to persons who have learned

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difference between mother tongue and first language, in which the initial language learned is not the one used primarily at a Second language speakers are persons who have learned a second language and use it with varying degrees of recognized that in a minority of instances there can be a mother tongue, vernacular; and native language, proficiency in certain situations. later time.

*B. Grimes, 1985b.

5B. Grimes, 1984. Much of the background for this paper has correspondence, interviews, and research on minority language been gathered by the author from field experience in various ports of the world during the last 33 years, as well as situations in connection with compiling the Sthnologue.

Swadesh, 1971.

7A domain is a cluss of situations in which a different style of speech, dialect, or language is used than that which is used in other classes of situations.

*Dede Octomo, 1984

*David Hogan, Christian Missions in Many Lands, personal communication.

10Charles E. Grimes, SIL, personel comunication.

11 John M. Echals, Cornell University, personal munication.

12C.E. Grimes, 1985; James T. Collins, 1983.

12I. Dyen, 1965

1.C. E. Grimes, personal communication,

15C. E. Grines, personal communication.

16C. F. Voegelin and F. M. Voegelin, 1977, p. 178.

17Koent jaraninggrat, University of Indonesia, personal communication.

18Stephen Schooling, SIL, personal communication.

19C, F. Voegelin and F. M. Voegelin, 1977, p. 296

20F. B. Agurd, Cornell University, personal communication.

21E. A. Nida, 1972, p. 147.

22E. A. Nidu, 1972, p. 7.

23 Carl Harrison, SIL, personal communication.

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250-251 pp. 24F. B. Agard, 1984,

25Philippe Cousson, personal communication.

26 Brad Willits, personal communication.

27F. B. Agard, personal communication

20J. Thiessen, University of Winnipeg, personal communication.

29C. F. Voegelin and F. M. Voegelin, 1977, p. 146.

30William G. Moulton, 1985

31 Dora Biers, SIL, personal communication.

12J. Thiessen, 1963.

33E. A. Nida, 1972, p. 158.

34R. H. Minnich, personal communication; and 1974.

15V. Peters, personal communication.

36J. M. Cowan, Cornell University, personal communication; End M. C. Bateson, 1967.

37SIL, personal communication.

30 James Miller, SIL, personal communication.

19Robert A. Hall, Jr., 1966

"George Huttar, SIL, personal communication.

41C. F. Voegelin and F. M. Voegelin, 1977, p. 143.

42M. Stephens, 1976.

43B. Grimes, 1985b.

44E. Casad, 1974; G. Simons, 1979.

Bnd 45B. Grimes, 1982; 1985a; 46B. Grimes, 1982; and John Sandefur, ms.

* Peter Silzer, SIL, personal communication.

40H. V. Klem, 1982.

49B. Grimes, ms.

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